

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 19829 01 OF 03 231927Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3530

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 AMEMBASSY BONN 19829

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV NATO WB GW US UK FR

SUBJECT: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MEETING: BERLIN
ASSESSMENT AND NAC BRIEFING

REFS: (A) BONN 19736; (B) BONN 19731; (C) STATE 286150

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE BONN GROUP HAS REACHED AD REF
AGREEMENT ON ALL BUT THE INTRODUCTORY
PARAGRAPH OF THE ASSESSMENT OF THE BERLIN SITUATION FOR
USE AT THE DECEMBER 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING. WITH ONE
MINOR CHANGE, THE ASSESSMENT WOULD ALSO BE USED TO BRIEF
THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. THE US REP HAS RESERVED
THE RIGHT TO REQUEST AN EXPANSION OF THE INTRODUCTORY
SECTION OF THE ASSESSMENT. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL
OF THE AD REF TEXT AND INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE
"GENERAL SITUATION" SECTION SHOULD BE ENLARGED.
END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 BONN 19829 01 OF 03 231927Z

1. THE BONN GROUP ON NOVEMBER 23 DEFERRED DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY ON PROBLEMS OF REPRESENTATION AND TURNED TO CONSIDERATION OF THE ASSESSMENT OF THE BERLIN SITUATION, IN ORDER TO MEET THE DECEMBER 1 DEADLINE FOR BRIEFING THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.

2. THE UK DRAFT (REF B) PROVED RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL, AND AD REF AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH ONLY MINOR CHANGES. WHILE THE UK, FRENCH, AND FRG REPS WERE ALSO IN AGREEMENT WITH PARAGRAPH ONE OF THE UK DRAFT ("GENERAL SITUATION"), THE US REP STATED THAT THE DEPARTMENT WOULD PROBABLY DESIRE A FULLER TREATMENT OF THE ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION AND THAT HE MIGHT INTRODUCE A NEW DRAFT FOR THAT SECTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. THE BONN GROUP WAS ALSO OF THE OPINION THAT THE AGREED DRAFT COULD BE USED BY THE UK NATO PERMREP FOR BRIEFING THE NAC, WITH A MINOR CHANGE IN THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF PARAGRAPH FIVE OF THE TEXT TO ELIMINATE THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SOVIET PROTEST OF NOVEMBER 16, WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN MADE KNOWN TO OTHER NATO MEMBERS.

4. TEXT OF THE ASSESSMENT AS AGREED AD REF FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

BERLIN

GENERAL SITUATION

1. THERE HAVE BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN BERLIN IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. DESPITE A DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF WORK PLACES AVAILABLE IN THE CITY, THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE OF A REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN BERLIN ON THE PART OF INVESTORS, AND A LIVELY DEBATE IS IN PROGRESS ABOUT THE BEST WAY TO SECURE THE ECONOMIC FUTURE. POLITICAL CONFIDENCE REMAINS HIGH, AND BERLIN'S CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 19829 01 OF 03 231927Z

REPUTATION AS AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING PLACE HAS BEEN MAINTAINED.

EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

2. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR HAVE NOT ABANDONED

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BONN 19829 02 OF 03 231944Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 AMEMBASSY BONN 19829

THEIR LONG-TERM AIM OF SEPARATING BERLIN FROM THE WEST.
EASTERN POLICY HAS NOT REVEALED ANY QUALITATIVELY NEW
APPROACH IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW.

SOVIET POLICY

3. THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONTINUED TO VOICE ITS
OPPOSITION TO THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN BERLIN AND TO THE
CITY'S POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL TIES WITH THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC. THERE HAVE BEEN PROTESTS ABOUT PARTICIPA-
TION OF OFFICIALS FROM FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS IN INTER-
NATIONAL MEETINGS AND ABOUT THE VISITS TO BERLIN BY
PARTY GROUPS FROM LAND PARLIAMENTS OF THE FRG AND BY
PROMINENT FEDERAL PERSONALITIES INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT
AND THE CHANCELLOR. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIETS HAVE
SAID THAT THEY HAVE NO OBJECTION TO CERTAIN ASPECTS

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PAGE 02 BONN 19829 02 OF 03 231944Z

OF THE TIES, E.G. THE ECONOMIC SPHERE.

4. THE MOST SERIOUS SOVIET PROTESTS IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW HAVE CONCERNED THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. IN A PROTEST ON 3 AUGUST THE RUSSIANS SAID THAT THE PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM BERLIN IN THE DELEGATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT FROM THE FRG WAS AN EFFORT TO DRAW BERLIN INTO THE PROCESS OF WEST EUROPEAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION; FOR BERLINERS TO PARTICIPATE IN A PARLIAMENT WITH LEGISLATIVE POWERS WOULD DIRECTLY AFFECT THE STATUS OF THE CITY.

5. IN THEIR REPLY THE ALLIES POINTED OUT THAT, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS OF BERLIN, THEY HAD DETERMINED THAT THE BERLINERS IN THE EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY WOULD NOT BE DIRECTLY ELECTED BUT SELECTED BY THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE ALLIES HAD ENSURED THAT NEITHER THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF THE TREATY OF ROME NOR SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNITY AFFECTED THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING THOSE RELATING TO MATTERS OF SECURITY AND STATUS. HOWEVER, THIS REPLY DID NOT SATISFY THE SOVIETS WHO ON 16 NOVEMBER MADE A FURTHER DEMARCHE CLAIMING THAT THEY NEVER RECOGNIZED THE LEGALITY OF THE EXTENSION TO BERLIN OF THE TREATY OF ROME, AND REITERATING THAT THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH ITS STATUS. THE ALLIES, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FRG, WILL REPLY TO THIS DEMARCHE IN DUE COURSE.

6. FURTHER EVIDENCE OF SOVIET SENSITIVITY OVER THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THE EEC WAS GIVEN BY A PROTEST OVER A PROPOSED MEETING IN BERLIN OF THE MIXED PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON THE ASSOCIATION OF GREECE WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.

7. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO PROTESTED AGAINST THE ALLIED INTENTION TO INSTITUTE A DIRECT AIR SERVICE BETWEEN BERLIN AND ZURICH. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT SUCH A SERVICE, OR OTHER DIRECT SCHEDULED FLIGHTS FROM
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PAGE 03 BONN 19829 02 OF 03 231944Z

BERLIN TO POINTS OUTSIDE THE FRG HAVE BEEN MOOTED. THE

ALLIES HAVE, AS IN THE PAST, DEFENDED THEIR RIGHT TO USE
THE AIR CORRIDORS FREELY, SUBJECT ONLY TO THE RELEVANT
FOUR-POWER AGREEMENTS.

8. THE SOVIETS HAVE SAID THAT THEY WISH ONLY TO SECURE
THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
QA AND THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO CHANGE IT. FEARS HAVE
RECEDED THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE SEEKING A PRETEXT TO
DEMAND FORMAL CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE FINAL
QUADRIpartite PROTOCOL ABOUT THE OPERATION OF THE
AGREEMENT, BUT THIS REMAINS A DANGER. SOVIET COMMEN-
TARIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SIGNING OF THE QA WERE MODERATE IN TONE BUT STRESSED THE
INTENTION TO TREAT BERLIN AS A SEPARATE ENTITY BY
INTENSIFYING DIRECT CONTACTS WITH THE CITY.

GDR POLICY

9. GDR POLICY ON BERLIN MATTERS HAS CONTINUED TO
FOLLOW THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE GDR HAS BEEN
PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN TRYING TO PROMOTE THE IDEA OF
BERLIN AS A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY. THE WESTERN
SIDE IS AWARE OF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN SUCH ACTIVITIES.

10. FOLLOWING A SERIES OF SHOOTINGS ON THE INNER-
GERMAN BORDER, AND THE DECLARED INTENTION OF THE

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PAGE 01 BONN 19829 03 OF 03 231942Z

47

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 AMEMBASSY BONN 19829

CDU/CSU YOUTH ORGANIZATION TO ORGANIZE A PILGRIMAGE TO BERLIN TO DEMONSTRATE ON THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALL, A NUMBER OF SERIOUS INCIDENTS OCCURRED ON 13 AUGUST, WHEN BUSES AND PRIVATE CARS WERE PREVENTED FROM USING THE TRANSIT ROUTES. THE ALLIES PROTESTED TO THE SOVIETS ABOUT THIS VIOLATION OF THE QA, WHICH PROVIDES FOR UNIMPEDED TRANSIT, AND THE FRG REJECTED GDR ATTEMPTS AT JUSTIFICATION PUT FORWARD IN

LEARNED FROM THESE INCIDENTS IS THAT, WHILE THE WEST MUST INCOMPROMISINGLY DEMAND FULL OBSERVANCE OF THE QA, IT MUST RECOGNIZE THAT SITUATIONS CAN ARISE IN WHICH THE GDR WILL TAKE DEMONSTRATIVE ACTION.

11. DESPITE THE FRICTIONS IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, THE TRANSIT AND VISITS
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PAGE 02 BONN 19829 03 OF 03 231942Z

ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BY AND LARGE CONTINUED TO OPERATE WELL. THE GDR HAS CONTINUED TO PROFESS A DESIRE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE FRG, BUT THERE ARE NOW DISTURBING INDICATIONS THAT PRESSURES INSIDE THE GDR MAY LEAD THE AUTHORITIES TO ADOPT A HARDER LINE ON HUMAN CONTACTS.

FUTURE POLICY OF THE ALLIES AND OF THE FRG

12. THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIES BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE FRG ARE VITAL FOR THE CONTINUING VIABILITY OF THE CITY. THE ALLIES AND THE FRG MUST CONTINUE TO PURSUE THIS POLICY, WHILE BEING GUIDED NOT ONLY BY LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS BUT ALSO BY CONSIDERATIONS OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNENESS.

13. THE FOUR MUST ALSO SEEK TO ENSURE THAT THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF BERLIN BY THE FRG, AND THE FULL PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL LIFE OF THOSE FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS LOCATED IN BERLIN,

ARE ACCEPTED AS NORMAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS WILL REQUIRE CONTINUING CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA, AND RESOLUTE RESISTANCE TO EASTERN ATTEMPTS TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF BERLIN AS A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY. BUT IN SO DOING THE FOUR WILL THEMSELVES CONTINUE SCRUPULOUSLY TO ADHERE TO ALL RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE QA SO AS TO GIVE THE SOVIETS NO LEGITIMATE GROUNDS FOR DEMANDING FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WHICH COULD NOT BUT WEAKEN IN PRACTICE THE WESTERN POSITION IN THE CITY.

14. IN THE COMING MONTHS IT IS LIKELY THAT THE GREATEST PROBLEM WILL CONCERN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BERLIN AND THE EEC. ON THIS THE THREE ALLIES MUST CONTINUE TO ENSURE THE INCLUSION OF BERLIN IN THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF THE TREATY OF ROME AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS FORESEEN IN THAT TREATY. THEY MUST ALSO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT SUCH PARTICIPATION WILL NOT CONSTITUTE ANY CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF THE CITY
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 19829 03 OF 03 231942Z

BECAUSE THE ALLIES WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THEIR RESERVED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IT MUST ON THE OTHER HAND BE ACCEPTED THAT THIS MAY MEAN THAT BERLIN WILL NOT NECESSARILY ENJOY IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES A REGIME COMPLETELY IDENTICAL TO THAT OF THE COMMUNITY. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE FOUR TO ATTEMPT TO FORESEE, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN ADVANCE, COMPLICATIONS OVER BERLIN WHICH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY MAY ENTAIL, AND FOR THEM TO PLAY THEIR PART IN WORKING OUT FUTURE PLANS.

END TEXT

5. ACTION REQUESTED:

A. INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE US REP SHOULD SEEK EXPANSION OF THE "GENERAL SITUATION" SECTION OF THE ASSESSMENT (IN REF A WE CALLED ON USBER FOR ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING A DRAFT WHICH MIGHT MEET THIS NEED, IF DESIRED BY THE DEPARTMENT);

B. APPROVAL OF THE TEXT SET OUT ABOVE AND AGREEMENT THAT IT ALSO BE USED FOR THE NAC BRIEFING.
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